

"INDIA'S PRIME TWIN NEEDS OF THE DAY"

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MADRAS

BY

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MADRAS

PREFACE

By Rao Bahadur M. Vaidyanathan, M.A., L.T.

The interesting articles, which the learned author of this pamphlet has now compiled in a book form, originally published in "The Industrialist," speak for his enthusiasm and high patriotism in pressing for the urgent needs of the Republican India. With 160 million voters envisaged in the new constitution, and more than 100 millions either unemployed or living on meagre wages, it would be the duty of the Republican Government to eradicate those evils, and make our hoary land self-respecting and glorified in the comity of nations. If only the Government would take up "First things first" as advocated by the learned author, they would be serving the cause of the community, better than any amount of half-hearted measures or patch-work by way of social legislations in building up the economic structure of this country.

M. VAIDYANATHAN.

21 FEB 1957

MADRAS

India's Prime Twin needs of the Day The Twin Problems Stated Generally

India's prime twin crying needs today are

1. Battle for Literacy (total liquidation of illiteracy)
2. Battle for work (total liquidation of apathy and indifference).

For the happiness and greatness of a country, the development of the best in every citizen is paramount. A nation can be prosperous only when every one of its citizens is given an opportunity to develop his or her best talents in building up his or her prosperity and thereby contribute to the building up of the nation's prosperity ultimately. This is possible only if every one of its citizens understand his or her responsibility and does his or her duty to the country so that he or she may enjoy the fruits of their labour in the form of rights and privileges. To afford this opportunity to his country-men India's greatest national leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the other day moved an urgent resolution in the Indian Parliament to hold the general elections as early as possible in 1950 to enable every adult citizen of India to take a living and practical interest in the Government of his or her country. Further in his recent clarion call giving us the benefit of his timely advice inter-alia, observed "All of us talk of India and all of us demand many things from India. What do we give her in return? India will be what we are. Our thoughts and actions shape her. If we are big so shall India be—" We have the greatest example of those stirring words in the world leadership today of the United States of America. U. S. A. is today what her citizens have made it. Her citizens for the last 100 years have fought against the formidable forces of darkness ar

ignorance through compulsory universal basic education and against apathy and poverty through ceaseless efforts and constant work and raised it to be the foremost enlightened and richest democratic country in the world today. Further private enterprise unfettered has showered on it the benefits of true democracy. No wonder its first citizen today, President Truman, is justly proud when he declared in his second New Deal message to his Congress recently "The World looks to us for leadership because we have so largely realised within our borders, those benefits of democracy for which most people of the world are yearning today". The progress in western countries have been achieved through precise tests by the yardstick of statistics. By constant study of their deficiencies and by best utilising their resources, the people of the West have built up an ordered life for themselves. It must be noted that the source of all mechanical power and industrial greatness of the countries of the West was the activity, ambition, knowledge and skill which brought them power, prosperity and higher standards of living. Anglo-American Group citizens are literate and exert to work to secure wealth, economic strength and healthy living conditions for them.

But India, which has quite recently emerged as a free nation, with its heritage of ancient civilization and a block bulk of population equalling to 1/5th of the world's, has been so long shrouded in darkness for lack of essential information. For example, during the war, the supply of food production fell short. The Government had no reliable facts or statistics and neither they nor the public knew how to meet the situation. Thus lack of statistics had to a great extent blocked the progress of India in the past. It is heartening to note that the Advisory Council to the Central Agricultural Research Board has decided to invite foreign statisticians of eminence to deliver lectures on statistics under its auspices. It is a pity in a vast country like ours, over 85% of the people have remained ignorant without the knowledge of

even the rudiments of education and further do not know today that free India expects every one of its citizens to strain every nerve and spare no pains to put their best efforts and work to grow up to his and her full stature individually and thereby collectively build up India's full stature. The recent Nehru Conference of Asiatic Nations at New Delhi is what its living greatest son, the Prime Minister of India, pointed out as its destiny, that is, its role of leadership against all forms of aggression inclusive of foreign colonialism. If therefore India has to take up the mantle of leadership not only of Asia but also of the whole world at no distant date, it is essential that her citizens should rise to the occasion. They must wake up to fight illiteracy tooth and nail and throw off their apathy and indifference and actively strengthen the hands of our undoubtedly eminent national leaders who are at the helm of affairs today.

The foremost urgent elementary needs of our country today are:—

1. Elementary mass education in the form of universal compulsory basic education:—Every child of school-going age should be compelled to have elementary or basic education between the ages of 6 to 16 and their parents punished if they are not sent to school as in the West. It is gratifying to note that the Central Government have recently formulated its policy on education in the form of compulsory universal social and basic education. When taking this decision on 8-1-49, the Education Minister of India observed "We want not merely literacy but mental development of adults so that they can take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country and the world".

2. The recognition by every individual citizen that he is expected to work for his living by engaging in a gainful occupation. Every citizen whether employer or work-man should get into the habit of working regularly for a fixed number of hours daily. There should be a plan of work to

be done and an understanding about the time to do it. Every citizen must consider work as part of his life as in the West. Our own shastras consider work a necessity of life and indolence a moral obloquy. A planned life is a desideratum in India. Every practical measure should be adopted in India by the young national Government to make its citizens take to active life and habits of initiation and self-help as the only means by which they could make their individual lives happy and their country progressive and prosperous. The Central Government being alive to its task was engaged throughout last year in taking record decisions on post-war plans for harnessing the resources and increasing the wealth of the country.

Though the Central Govt. had taken record decisions, it is upto the Provincial Govts. which are its limbs to carry them into effect. But also, Madras Government, to take an example of a Provincial Govt., while realising the urgency of India's twin problems, as adumbrated in their five year post-war plan for the construction of Province's resources, are not heeding the advice tendered by the Central Govt. but for the last two years are throwing away their Province's resources under the plea of implementing their election pledges. To cite an instance, their prohibition campaign has led even right thinking people to question the necessity for the urgency of the same and to wonder whether it has been done in the interest of individuals composing the Govt. For when people are starving for want of food and work, Madras Govt. is busy drawing up a moral programme for them. If instead they had introduced literacy campaign side by side with rural uplift annually district-war, by the end of these two years the people of those districts would be getting enlightenment on a mass scale and understanding their responsibilities in a free India, would have been working and raising their standards of living contributing to the prosperity of the Province and carrying the torches of enlightenment and industry to the other Provinces and to

the country as a whole. On the other hand, the Ministry finds their campaign is costing them heavily and also they are unable to provide adequate funds to carry on their five year post-war plans intensively.

India has an enormous manpower, which should be immediately availed of and should not be neglected to go to waste. No other country in this world, except China, compares with India in respect of excessive manpower. But China has not solved her problems and to-day she is torn by civil war with the Russian bear at its door. Even the USSR has only half of our population. It has a density of population 48 per square mile in Europe and only 8 per square mile in Asia against 300 per square mile in the Indian Dominion. Nearly three decades ago, Russia started its gigantic experiment at state-ownership. Under the plea, 'chronic ills require drastic cure' it applied extraordinary measures, which has not only interfered and curtailed but has also made serious inroads into the rights and privileges of its citizens, Russia, which claimed economic equality, has denied elementary individual freedom to her citizens and thousands of her people are sent to slave in labour camps. Soviet Russia should now at least understand the problem of individual human liberty since she has now come out openly with her five year post-war plan for her reconstruction. It is high time she abandons her iron curtain methods that shrouded her activities so far. Further she must recognise that her rigorous state ownership has not resulted in giving to her citizens, the same efficiency, standard of living and prosperity as private competitive enterprise has done to USA. USA is today sought after by other nations for help and guidance to weld humanity into a one bringing the finer qualities of love and virtues in them. But the Russian bear has scoped itself into a portion of the earth's surface bringing discord and strife into the lives of humanity in its merciless drive for world supremacy.

The last war and its repercussions have made the world politically unsteady and economically weak. India having been cut into two parts had to face consequent difficulties in the form of refugee settlement and communal fury, which after their heyday are now getting in hand, though still present hurdles in the form of class hatred. To add to all our difficulties the population in India is increasing annually at the rate of 5 millions without corresponding increase in literacy or working behaviour of the people. At this juncture the failure of our local government to do 'First things first' has not only become a plank for testing the mettle of those who are now running the Govt. but also for challenging their leadership. This has further given a handle to raise the slogan "we are politically free but not economically or socially". All our difficulties today unsolved have led to political capital being made by individuals and parties for narrow ends exploiting the discontented, the unemployed and the class haters, fanning thus all the more the difficulties of the situation. Some of these sectional leaders demand regimentation and mobilisation on the model of Russian iron curtain methods for reasons best known to themselves. As a part of their demand, they clamour for the redistribution of the existing wealth, without undertaking to produce more wealth. They know not what they ask, for a mere redistribution of wealth without exerting continuously for producing continual flow of more wealth, will reduce us to stark poverty.

India, with its ancient heritage of tolerance of religious, belief, political opinion and outlook, is incompatible of being regimented into just one school of thought which is so essential for a successful working of the totalitarian methods of Russian type. India cannot isolate herself from the rest of the world and carry on her experiments within an iron curtain as Russia did, for it will not only distort us, but it will also prevent India from taking her proper place in the world. We must grow with others and hold aloft the innate

goodness of our country as personified in our late lamented Mahatma, the father of our nation. The world today is for benefiting by individual effort, by drawing the best in every individual for its greatness. Therefore our national leaders who are to day at the helm of affairs rightly feel that the greatness of our country does not lie the way Russia has done. The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has expressed himself against Regimentation and Isolation. In short the mind of our national leaders is for thinking out our problems for ourselves and finding a solution in keeping with the traditions and genius of our country.

India's Census

The census of 1941 revealed that of the population of 389 millions in India before Partition the number capable of working and earning a living for themselves and their dependants was only 100 millions. Therefore, the primary need is not only providing work for this large number to enable them to earn their living and support their dependants, but also to harness them to work enough to feed, clothe, and educate the entire population. When we look at Indian Union, we find 89% of the population living in 7 lakhs of villages and 11% living in 2,000 towns. So long, education and industries were concentrated in towns only, and the rural parts were neglected and left in a backward condition. Even today it is the urban areas which monopolise the attention of the legislatures and the Govt. alike. Swaraj will have little meaning for India, if the problems of rural welfare which affects over 80% of the country's population are not solved satisfactorily. Therefore, to eradicate poverty, to wipe out illiteracy, and to alleviate the sufferings of the masses in this country the speedy remedies are rural education in the form of universal compulsory elementary education and village industrialisation in the form of heavy, medium and cottage industries and mechanised agriculture. If

village education and industrialisation are introduced swiftly, it will mean not only a tremendous enlightenment and great accession to the productive power of the country, but also the raising of the standard of living. To effect it, the villages also like towns should be made centres for propagation of education and production and distribution of consumer goods. This implies that the villages also should be provided with amenities such as roads, schools, hospitals, protected water-supply, etc. as first step in the rural development, to extend the benefits of education and industries to them, so that their standard of living many also be raised. But this is not an easy problem as it will react on the limited resources of the young National Government. But it has somehow to be done immediately and urgently.

Position in the Villages

Village communications in India are inadequate and bad. The villages are without protected water supply. Their hospitals and dispensaries are ill-equipped and understaffed. They are frequently subject to scarcity and famine owing to failure of their crops. Further, their canals and tanks are irrigating in the best of seasons only about 8% of the cultivable and 17% of the cultivated areas in the districts. This is not surprising, when there are very many towns too nowadays with very poor amenities. One such sample is the First Class Municipal town of Calicut (Kozhikode) the Headquarters of Malabar. The Hon'ble Sri K. Madhava Menon, Madras Minister for Agriculture who was connected with it for a number of years as its Chairman and Councillor, when he was presented with a Municipal Address last year, remarked that Calicut had not changed much since the coming of Vascode Gama. It is the elementary duty of any Govt. to provide all amenities first and foremost to its citizens, from whom it collects taxes and kists, and it is a distinct breach of trust, if that Govt. diverts its revenues to further other aims. The Minister for Industries in Madras had asked the people in the villages to provide and maintain

these amenities themselves. It should be understood that whatever amenities are to be provided, should be given priority to a few thousands of villages, which are contiguous to towns and then be slowly extended to others on a scheduled annual plan. That villages also like towns should be provided with all facilities for education and industries is an immediate need

Manual labour alone would not suffice

There is a school of thought which urges that manual labour alone can harness the excessive manpower in India and is the best solution to see that every one in India has work to do. Their contention is that in all the registered factories in India in 1939, there was no more than a paltry 1.75 millions employed. Even adding another million working in mines and railways, the total number of workers in all our large industrial units has not exceeded 2.75 millions or 1.7% of the working population. All our industries, even if fully mechanised, will support only a mere 10 millions out of our 400 millions. To take, for example, our single major industry of textiles alone, they were producing in 1940-41, 64.7% of our cloth in the mills and 28% in handlooms. And yet the mills were employing a mere 4,60,000 workers as against 2.4 million men, 2 million auxiliaries and about another 7 million dependants totalling about 10 million supported by the handlooms. Even today handlooms have not completely given place to mill cloth. They also point out that villagers will be happy and contented if they take to hand-spinning and weaving in their own farms with their families amidst their healthy surroundings. Then they need no longer be dragged away from their village home and their family to strange surroundings in towns where they have to spend for rent, transport, medicine and artificial excitement. So long as there are at least more than a hundred millions unemployed and this number is fast increasing due to the large annual increase of population in our country, if every one has to find work, manual labour has to be resorted to as a solution to unemployment.

We concede that the necessity for manual labour in India is great, but to content ourselves that manual labour alone will solve our problems is to reduce ourselves to insignificance and poverty. The ancient manually-operated cottage industries have lost their field to power drives in recent years and the world today is quite different from what it was till a hundred years ago when the manually-operated charka flourished undisturbed. Man is himself the cause for his unemployment today. With his intelligence he created power and energy from nature to do his job. Even in good old times, when he could pass on the burden of carrying heavy loads or dragging plough or baling water to the shoulders of a pair of bullocks or a horse or a wind-mill or water mill, he did so unhesitatingly. Now he had also learnt to coax nature to yield oil, coal and electricity and has started using trains, cars, motorboats, and aeroplanes instead of walking. Thus the field has been conceded by the parties directly affected voluntarily. He trained the horse, oxen and elephant deliberately to minimise his drudgery. The demand for increased production is too great to stem the tide and the mechanisation holds out the prospects of the plenty of production, which we very badly need. The manually-operated industries with their poorer output could not face the competition of the mechanised textile mills in India. For all these reasons the manually-operated industries would thrive only where power in some form or other could not be used, say, in very small and remote villages, but the top-graded villages have to use power if India has to become prosperous.

India has not the wealth or the means to develop the enormous machine power which the western countries have built up. Therefore till we become rich enough to mechanise our industries fully, we have to content ourselves using some form of power or energy which costs less but yields more and better production. We want to increase production

so that it might in plenty become available to millions of our poor and hungry people. We have in the electric energy a very useful and cheap unit for bringing wealth. We can have a large employment programme if we consider villages also as units for education and industrial development as towns. Miniature cottage units in the form of electric motor could be designed as far as possible on the lines of the textile mills. That the power-driven cottage units in the form of looms run by electric motors can very successfully face the competition of monster textile mills in India and of outside countries also has been demonstrated conclusively in the Bombay Presidency where the installation of such looms has been a great success. In Surat alone there are 4000 of these and they seem to be extremely competitive to mill looms. Such looms are being now encouraged in other parts of the Presidency as well. Even in a country like the U. S. A. which gloats over its sky-scrappers and its mile long factories we have the remarkable example of a prominent large group like Sylvania electric products in numerous factories located in small sized towns. But the expansion of electricity to our vast rural areas is a tremendous job. Electric supply is now almost entirely confined to towns because of concentration in them of the lucrative domestic lighting, street lighting and industrial loads. Moreover the wealthier people live in towns. For any large scale expansion of electricity without undue strain on the Government's finances, electricity should be generated as cheaply as possible. Our Provincial Govt. has taken decision to have a large scale cheap Govt. generated electricity and Provincial rural electrification. The expansion of electricity into rural areas carried out so far has been only in the nature of probing to see where the area is rich and responsive and where it is poor and unresponsive. Electricity can greatly vitalise village life and will be a boon to the teeming millions of half-starved farmers and famished landless abourers. The manually-operated charka in the smaller villages and hamlets could flourish wherever the conditions

for its working are most favourable until displaced by the power-driven cottage units. The power driven unit as compared to manually operated charka, though high in capital cost, can give three times more production, enhancing the income also three times. So if this is hired out, the villager who could be better off 150% will not grudge to pay a small amount as hire.

India is mainly agricultural

India is primarily an agricultural country and its citizens could be saved from starvation if agricultural job is made tempting and attractive. In this connection, it is worthwhile to hearken to the call of our Madras Premier, the Hon'ble O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, to restore agriculture in the nation's economy by making it a business proposition. As he says, it should cease to be a way of living and should be converted into a paying and remunerative concern to be sought after by the intelligentsia and the younger generation of our population. This is possible only when the varied agricultural operations like making furrows, sowing seeds, applying fertilizer, harvesting crops and the thrashing of corn are mechanised. A beginning may be made to introduce electricity in the agricultural operations in our villages. This will itself revolutionise the outlook of every best citizen as to its intrinsic place in nation's economy. It should be noted that by mechanising its agricultural operations, Australia has kept down production costs, maintained labour costs at high level in consonance with the rise in the standard of living due to its prosperity.

So far we have in a way made out a case for the flourishing of large, medium and small scale industries, viz. the monster mills, the power—driven intermediaries and the manually-operated industries. Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, India's Minister for Industries, said recently that the gravest problem in India today is unemployment. He added that a constructive approach to solve this problem must be made

whereby it will be possible for the Govt. to create conditions for self-employment for a larger number of our people. He continued that the country's present economic crisis can be solved only by the implementation of large, medium and small scale industries.

For the progress of our industries, we should have research and statistical boards comprising also of foreign experts and technicians from every industry for constantly carrying out trials and experiments to get defects removed and experiments increased. They shall also specify the minimum standards or quality necessary. A special economic committee for each district shall study the production and consumption in each industry and see how the two could be balanced and what amount of export is justifiable and will not result in any undue competition.

In the matter of education, unless and until universal compulsory elementary education for children combined with social education of the adults, is made available to at least 50% of our population, ideals like democracy, adult franchise, etc. have no meaning, but are mere platitudes. That is why Maulana Azad, India's Minister for Education, has appealed to Provincial Governments to make an immediate start of the Universal Compulsory Elementary and Social Education from the current financial year. He urges that this task could not wait. According to his scheme, not only literacy but also training in the elements of citizenship has to be imparted to the adults. We are glad Mysore State has the unique distinction of introducing literacy into its district, by annual distinct stages which opportunity Madras lost on prohibition. The Bihar Government has introduced free Universal Compulsory Elementary Education. Madras Government which turned down the directive of the Central Government to slow down prohibition will be at least now follow the lead given by the Central Government in the matter of education, before it is too late to save democracy from the yawning chasm of communism.

Battle for Work

It would be better described in the language of our Deputy Prime Minister, Sirdar Vallabbai Patel, who said, "The fruits of freedom are yet to be tasted but this cannot well be unless every patriotic Indian understands his duties and responsibilities on whose adequate discharge in a spirit of utter selflessness rests the entire future of this vast country. The vigil and co-operation of every citizen is needed in this serious task. No patriotic Indian can overlook the tremendous problems facing the country in the wake of the achievement of political freedom and the partition. The emphasis ought primarily to be on duties and responsibilities more than on rights and liberties. When the former are well discharged, the latter accrue as a matter of course. Those who talk of nationalisation, those who indulge in destruction and sabotage and those who do not work—these are the real enemies of India."

The chief cause for our low economic condition is that the other nations are taking away our raw materials and are dumping on us finished goods. This is well evidenced by the fact that India's capital invested in industries before the war was 700 crores as against 1200 crores invested by Canada, 8000 crores invested by United Kingdom and 23,000 crores invested by the United States of America in their respective country's industries. India with a population of 400 millions has a gross value of output from organised industries estimated about 700 crores while the United States of America with a population about one third of India's has a gross value of output estimated 25,000 crores. Further, India with a population 400 millions has only 3% of the world trade whereas United Kingdom has 13.64% of the world trade with a population of about 45 millions which is less than one-eighth of our population. From the above it is clear that if India wants to become rich, prosperous and self-sufficient she has of course to capture larger and larger

share in the world's trade by increasing her production. This is possible only with a rapid industrialisation of the country. There are before it examples of industrially developed countries who have risen to prosperity, influence and power in the four democratic nations of the Anglo-American group, viz, The United States of America, The united Kingdom and the two British Commonwealth Dominions, Canada and Australia. Smaller European nations like Sweden, and Swizerland also keep themselves industrially equipped and fit and they work hard with a determination, whatever the obstacles be, not to lower their standard of living. Thus the western countries have kept unemployment down and prosperity up by the process of mechanisation. They succeeded in doing so by limiting their population and by tapping new sources of energy and wealth. India can solve her problems by tapping all the innate resources of her mighty and vast land rapidly developing the badly-needed industries and putting an end to the overcrowding which causes the lowering of the standard of living by diverting some of her man power to the various groups of islands near about her in her oceans such as Laccadives, Andamans and the Nicobar, etc., by making it an attractive proposition providing all the amenities of civilized life in them.

The economic strength of a country depends on the development of her indigenous industries. It is the only way to get over the frequent shortage of our subsistent needs which necessitates their import for which we spend heavily. The work connected with the development of industries should be conducted on a plan and not haphazardly to ensure best results. There must be an annual review with statistical table in the entire union with complete statistical information. The outlay by Government may be incurred on setting up research and statistical boards, special types of educational institutions providing equipment and the like and affording Tariff protection, Banking facilities, Technical and commercial

education and directing and counselling private enterprise in all Industries inclusive of heavy industries.

In this connection it is worth while to remember the words of our India's Deputy Prime Minister. "Take it from me as gospel truth that the Government of India have not got the capacity to undertake the nationalisation of any industry at present. Therefore if anybody speaks of nationalisation, he talks about it for the purpose of leadership and do not believe him". Our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has invited foreign capital on the same terms as those offered to local private enterprise. Further, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, India's Minister for Industries and Supplies told the prominent industrialists at Gwalior on 3-4-'48. "that they instead of criticizing any possible attempt of the Government to nationalise one or two sections of industries, would be better advised to devote their immediate attention to the fields of activities which they could do themselves to the good of all."

These are very inviting and encouraging words which should be taken note of by private enterprise and acted upon immediately. This is not the time for private enterprise to weigh pros and cons but the time for quick action. It should understand that the financial resources of the Government are limited and the problem of unemployment and its attendant evils have to be ended soon for the happiness of India's citizens. This is the time for private enterprise to show its mettle by coming to the rescue of the citizens in raising their standard of living. It is true that top heavy taxation, threat of nationalisation, the limitation of dividends, the reduced margin of profit, etc. are today handicaps to investment; and further tactless speeches of some of the ministers of Provincial Governments have contributed to private capital becoming shy and going hiding. In spite of all these, private capital will be well advised to take up the challenge of India's Minister for Power and Mines, The Hon'ble Mr. Gadgil and prove that their patriotism is second to none in bringing happiness to the common man through proper distribution of industries and wealth

throughout the length and breadth of India, especially in economically backward areas, (agricultural parts) cooperating with the Government. This is the time for private capital to come to the aid of the Government and rescue the poor millions in India and thus establish their claim for free and unfettered role. Here and now we would also stress the importance of Government's role in encouraging and putting heart into private enterprise.

The Indian Government have to 1. extend aid and encouragement to existing Industries. 2. foster the development and growth of the existing Industries. 3. give incentive and facilities for the establishment of new industries of an essential character and heavy industries which have really the possible means of bringing wealth and financial strength to the country. 4. aid and counsel private enterprises newly started with a view to their proper distribution in India in economically backward areas as a means of equitable distributing of wealth. 5. In the role of directing and controlling private enterprise, to see that the persons who so direct and control are experts drawn only from the industries both local and foreign and end the anomaly of outsiders like revenue officials who do not know the A. B. C. D. of the industries, obstructing industries through their ignorance. 6. entrust distribution of essential commodities to the tried and recognised channels on a co-operative basis, instead of the maldistribution machinery now set up which creates scarcity when there is plenty in the land and thus facilitates the growth of corruption and blackmarketeer. Instead of promulgating laws to put down the blackmarketeer after he appears on the scene, is it not best to nip his growth in the bud itself? 7. In educating the citizens with lectures, films, propagandas, journals, etc. as to the necessity to put in their best efforts and work to raise their standard of living and thereby contribute to the prosperity of their country. 8. By setting up technical institutions, schools of commerce, schools of statistics and by making provision in educational institutions in India for imparting higher skill and technical knowledge in the standard required for original designs in

the manufacture of machinery, for no time must be lost by the industrial public in India in manufacturing the machinery they require within the country itself. 9. Any Government will be failing in their duty they owe to the poor masses if they do not address themselves to the task of making the production in the country because accessible to the common man cheaply and also encouraging more and more production not only to export but also to stop imports which are draining our slender resources.

In this way suggestions could be further made but our object is not to exhaust all that could be done but only to point out what we consider the manner in which the role of the govt has to shape itself for the present. India is now though rich in resources and also with plenty of man power, yet its turnover in production or wealth is very paltry considering the extent of its land with the size of the other developed western countries. Therefore this is not a time for the Government to experiment nationalisation but to act in such a manner as to induce and coax and pat in the back private enterprise and make it do what is expected of our Democratic Government to do to the people in the country. The art of flattering helps Govt. to get the finance required for the rapid development of the resources in our country so that within the shortest time the common man will be benefited. Therefore at the present time any idea of our government entering the field as competitive employers in industry should be abandoned for they have a primary duty of supplying the subsistent and elementary needs of the common man from which they should not shirk. At the present juncture to afford amenities of civilized life and security in the land, Government finds, it difficult with their present revenues. Further, if they become employers they have to become ideal and model employers for private capitalists to copy. But when their own employees in essential services are asked to wait for better days for a living wage, it is out of the question for Government to take the role of employers in industry as well. As a theoretical question we can ask who is to control and direct them if they do so. It

will only spell disaster to the common man whom they have pledged to protect and help. We have before us the glaring instance of the Madras Govt nationalising the transport service. Not only we have news about the enhancement of rates which the poor man has to pay for travelling but also the phenomenon of the police running the Government wheels since the Revenue officials could not do it.

Private investment must be got in sufficient volume, sufficiently dependable in flow, geographically well distributed and fundamentally well adjusted to the types of investment required by under-developed parts in India. In Joint Private ventures wherein foreign capital is involved, the controlling interest should be predominantly Indian and the management should entirely vest in Indian hands. Whereas the foreign industrialist should subscribe his share of the capital generally in the form of capital goods, machinery, machine tools and also in the form of services, technical knowledge, and the supply of information; the Indian industrialist should supply the rest, like building, labour, management, general administration, etc. Further, research and development departments should be set up in every industry whose main function is to make a deep and thorough study of the products manufactured by the factories, to analyse them and try to develop something better every day. Special care is to be taken in each and every factory that nothing at all is wasted. The percentage of idleness which is very high today is to be reduced to a minimum, for idleness in working time is throwing away money for nothing and is sheer waste. Rapid development of industries or rather quick tapping of the entire resources of our country is a desideratum for the happiness and prosperity of India.

Now we will proceed merely to indicate some of the types of industries in India whose development is essential to the prosperity of India. I will make a passing reference in the first instance to one or two of the heavy industries which are in infant stage which, if developed, not only will enable us to manufacture our own requirements of machinery and their spare parts in India itself but also will help us to

capture the world trade. In the second instance, I will make a brief mention of one or two of our indigenous industries whose development would make them not only self-sufficient but also would serve as a means for rapid village industrialisation since such industries have to be located near the source of the raw materials. Thirdly, while stating one or two of the greatest and largest manufacturing industries in India, I will dwell at some length on our cotton hosiery and textile industry because it is at once the anchor of hope and lighthouse to the forlorn, for it contains in itself vast possibilities of vitalising industrially-poor areas through reclaiming economically backward areas.

Heavy Industries

Iron and Steel Industry :

If India is to survive as a leading and prosperous nation, its largest manufacturing industries, like Textiles, Sugar, Cement, etc., have to be developed. For the manufacture of their necessary machinery and parts, iron and steel production is essential and a desideratum. The largest single Iron and Steel Works in India is the Tata's Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, which employs 40,000 workers and has a block capital of 16 crores. It began its production in 1911-1912. Now about 1 million tons of steel are manufactured annually at the works. Our demand for the same is about 5 million tons. It owes its origin to the genius and enterprise of the late Mr. J. N. Tata of Bombay.

Automobile Industry :

Motor cars have come to stay as a necessity in India. There is no going back to the horse carriage and bullock cart if we have to save time and do things quickly. The automobile, during the past 40 years has come to be regarded as a national asset. Small cars which were purchased for about Rs. 2000/- before war, are now purchased after war for about Rs. 6,000/- at control price. That India with its

vast population has only about 2 lakhs of cars in use is partly due to the low income of the people and partly to the high cost of cars which are of foreign manufacture. The automobile industry will facilitate business and trade to a considerable extent and will prove highly remunerative in the present circumstances of our country.

Aircraft Industry

Though references to flying occur in the ancient records of our country, yet scientific flying is a product practically of this century. The highest ascent of man has been 13.7 miles. It flies 2 miles for a gallon of petrol. It flies about 400 miles an hour. Its importance was brought about in the last two world wars. It affords the amenities of civilized life, such as quick transport of cargo, letters and quick travel. It will carry a weight of 5 tons. The passengers are carried at the rate of 200 lbs. for each passenger. It is highly developed in Western countries. The government in U. S. A. are encouraging families with relatively low incomes to buy their own domestic planes just as today they are purchasing their own automobiles. The cost of a medium-sized aircraft is generally reckoned on the basis of £1 for every one lb. of weight. A Machine weighing 36,000 lbs will cost £36,000. In south India an aircraft factory, "The Hindustan Aircraft Factory" is at present functioning in Bangalore assembling automobile and aircraft parts.

Machine Tool Industry

This can rightly be designated as the prop of all industries. It is a key industry. This is well developed in Western countries but unfortunately in India, it is a new industry of recent growth. This requires highly technical and specialised knowledge and skill. It generally takes about 3 years to train labour for doing even an ordinary good job in it. Every possible attempt should be made to induce private enterprise to develop it.

Agriculture

In the matter of Agriculture, which is the backbone of the Indian nation, it is worth while considering its mechanisation and also study the success that has attended the working of the British Agricultural Act. The present need in India is to increase production of food so that the people may not depend on import of food from other countries which takes away a great part of our finance. It is heartening to note that the Madras Government are intending to enact legislation to facilitate restoration of the lost capacity of minor irrigation tanks. Sri M. Baktavatsam, Madras P. W. D. Minister said. "The scheme is estimated to cost Rs. 20 crores and more. The expenditure is worth while because it is the quickest and surest way of growing more food and wheat ensuring substantial measure of prosperity to the long-neglected tillers of the soil. Provision has been made in the budget (1949-1950) for an expenditure of one crore to make a start in that direction." We appeal to the Central and Provincial Governments alike to give top priority to the backbone of our nation (agriculture) in the matter of expenditure and to deprecate the tendency of some of the Provincial Governments to fritter away their revenues on political fads to secure their election, jeopardising the interest of the masses who contribute to such revenues through taxes and Kists.

2. Indigenous Industries

In the matter of indigenous industries like paper, slate, cement, bricks & tiles etc., they have to be located near the source of raw materials to yield the best maximum results.

Paper Industry

The manufacture of pulp for paper industry has to be located close to the source of raw materials like Bamboo, Grass, rags, paper waste, hosiery cuttings, old baskets etc. This industry has made very good progress in the last decade. Since the outbreak of the war, the Indian paper mills have been enjoying boom conditions due to cessation of supplies

from foreign sources. All paper mills were heavily engaged despite going difficulties in obtaining supplies of raw materials, chemicals and stores. There was great scarcity for paper. The major portion of the output of the Indian mills were taken by the Government. Despite the boom and the help given by the Government by providing proper allocation of coal, affording transport facilities for bringing essential raw materials and by prohibiting the export of the above pulpmaking materials, it must be admitted the performance of the paper industry was not encouraging. With proper research development, technical personnel, statistics, experts and full scope for free competitive private enterprise, it is bound to become self-sufficient. We are glad to learn that a new paper and board industry, which will be one of the biggest in south India, is being started at Fraserpet, Coorg. This new plant has just made issue of capital under the name of the Cauvery Paper Mills and Forest Industries Ltd. It is expected to yield an output of 12,000 tons a year. Its paper production will start with bamboo like Titaghur and its cardboard production will start with a special kind of grass used as the raw material. Both these raw materials grow all round Fraserpet and there is also an ample supply of water which is chemically exact and correct for paper production.

Slate and Slate Pencil Industry

There are about 160 factories making different kinds of slates in the Indian Union. About 80% of them are manufacturing stone (breakable) slates and a few factories are producing "Mettaloid" (Unbreakable) slates. The producing of slates is estimated to be about $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores per annum and that of slate pencils 20 crores per annum. There is ample scope to satisfy the growing demands, as imports are negligible, provided facilities are afforded for their improvement in quality and production. Mr. G. L. Mehta, president of the Indian Tariff Board, opening the Board's enquiry on 25-3-49 observed that the manufacturers should

concentrate their attention on increasing production and improving the quality of slates with the object of developing an export market in neighbouring countries. He assured the representatives of the indigenous slate and pencil industry that the board will give careful consideration to the industry's demands for the lease of Government mines in the Markapur area, Kurnool district, Madras, for reduction in Royalty charges and Railway freight and for the supply of technical assistance. He also promised to consider their appeal for supply of wood from Government forests in Malabar and Mysore and electric energy from the Vijawada thermal station.

The indigenous industries of the above type afford facility for working the plan of our India's Minister for industries. The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, observed that we could decentralise our industries in a way that the people living in far distant regions in rural areas may derive the fullest advantage of the industrial development of the country in raising their standard of living also. According to this plan, we must also consider how it is possible for us to secure economic progress and prosperity through the development of small and medium sized industries.

3. Manufacturing industries :

India is doing a great deal of manufacture already. India is found today self-sufficing in cotton piece goods, sugar and cement and should be made soon to become self-sufficing in iron, steel, glass, paper etc.

In cement, we manufactured in 1937-1938, 1,169,000 tons and imported a mere 32,000 tons.

In Sugar our imports were a mere 30,000 tons as against our internal output of 12,345,000 tons and our exports far exceeded our imports in 1940-1941.

In Textiles, which continues to be our greatest single organised industry in 1940-1941, we imported only 7.3 of our requirements and made rest 92.7 in India itself.

India's Cotton Hosiery Industry

Along with food and air, clothing is fundamentally essential to human existence. Thanks to the impetus received from World War no 2, Cotton Hosiery Industry in India has not only stood its ground firmly notwithstanding keen foreign competition but also for the last six years has shown to the world that it could meet reasonably the modest demands of the public. The unprecedented demand created by the recent hostilities have given the necessary fillip to this industry insomuch so that today it is regarded as an organization for the satisfaction of human needs, wants and tastes, claiming separate attention apart from its parent (Textiles) as a large manufacturing self-sufficient industry.

This industry has had very humble beginnings. It owes its origin to the cottage (manual labour) stage of the 16th century. The power-driven knitting industry came with the notable invention of the latch needle in 1894. It entered the factory stage with increased mechanisation. The growth of this industry has been rapid in India where in the short span of fifty years it has come to occupy a leading role in the industrial map in our country today. The capacity of our knitting industry is well demonstrated by its marked contributions to the defence services, during the late war. This industry is well established in the provinces of U. P., Bombay, Madras, Bengal and Punjab.

Some Features of this Industry:

The knitting industry has throughout been in the hands of private enterprise. The allocation of the investment in the industry is 40% for fixed assets, 30% for stores

and stocks and 30% for the other items of the working capital. The turnover on a very rough estimate is about the double of the capital invested. The analysis of costing shows that charges upto and inclusive of knitting process come to about a fourth of the total manufacturing expenses and the balance three-fourths of the costs relate to the succeeding operations like bleaching, dyeing, finishing, efficient management and skilful supervision.

Some Important Requirements of the Industry :

As it exists today, a considerable share of production comes from plain circular machines which are confined to cheap quality garments on mass sale.

The Interlock Machine :

Tends to enjoy almost universal acceptance as it carries with it the advantages of greater capacity of production, strong soft and spongy texture of its fabric, automatic stitch change over, wide patents, assortment aided by special cams, pattern wheels and jacquard attachment with the elasticity comparable to rib cloth. In United Kingdom 75% of cotton underwears are produced by Interlock machines only.

Yarn :

Plays an important part in the standardization of this industry. The varieties of yarn differ with the source of production in term of counts and grades. In almost all countries the supply of yarn is restricted at the present moment as compared with the demand.

Needles :

Of the different types, Latch needle manufacturing is very essential for further development of this industry.

Labour :

The payment of wages is generally based on piece-work basis except only in certain cases where this system is

not practicable. Bonus is to be given on the efficiency and speed of production, lower needle breakage etc.

Factory Buildings :

Generally speaking the buildings which now house the knitting factories are not conducive to efficiency and speed in production.

The Auxiliary requirements are such as elastic braid tapes, Sewing thread, buttons, dyes, chemicals, etc.

Several new inventions in the West has made it possible for this industry to make rapid strides. Of late, the machinery employed in the knitting industry has been tending to be more and more complicated. Increasing emphasis noticeable everywhere is on mechanization, labour saving appliances, plan layout and propagation of technical education. It is now appreciated that many of our methods, processes and plants are out of date. The Flat machine is growing in importance in the realm of adult outerwear of high quality and the COTTON PATENT FRAMES are now mainly utilized for fashionable underwear and outerwear of high quality. Our immediate target should be to raise production at least to the level of internal demand and to build up export trade. The target prescribed by the Advisory Planning Board is a five-year post war planning ending in 1951.

Type of Garment	Annual Production Target	Quantity of Yarn Required
UNDERWEAR	600 million garments	150 million lbs.
	(Of which 200 million to export)	(4 oz. per garment)
OUTERWEAR	100 million garments	37½ million lbs.
	(Of which 33 million to export)	(6 oz. per garment)

Some suggestions for improvement and expansion of this industry :

- A. This industry must be standardized with necessary experiments. To enable which a reasearch station

should be developed by the Indian machinery manufacturers to make improvements in the existing out-turn and to make new inventions.

- B. The replacements necessitated by war-time strain on the existing machinery in Indian factories have to wait till the foreign supply improves, which, is still scarce even after war owing to the increasing tension in the international situation. Therefore, it is all the more necessary that our country must become self-sufficient by first producing its own needles as it does yarn now and eventually produce its own machines and its accessories.
- C. If knitting industry is not to be crippled, it must cease to rely on *imports*. Now it is the duty of the Government to guard against indiscriminate import of knitted supplies in the form of consumer goods and to facilitate the export of production by importing only necessary capital goods now.
- D. One of the most important steps in the industrial development which has hitherto been neglected in our country is standardization of the quality of the products to the satisfaction of the customers. This is as much essential as the price control. An Industrial Board consisting of four manufacturers' representatives of our country with an equal number of experts drawn, one each from Japan, Germany, United Kingdom and United States of America is an immediate desideratum.
- E. Frequent stock-taking and drive is necessary. Mottos (in different departments) like OBSERVE, THINK and SUGGEST go a long way to help to increase the efficiency and speed of production.
- F. It is necessary in the interests of trade in India that Capital has to draw its Directors as in the West from

those who have passed the portals of University, equipped with sound technical education and prepared to be full-time workers.

- G. To enlighten Capital, Labour and the Public, first class industrial and engineering journals with a labour gazette must be published.

“India's Cotton Textile Industry”

In India *the cotton textile industry* occupies the first and foremost rank as typical of modern industrialisation and is the greatest and largest of India's manufacturing industries. In this industry, India ranks high among the leading countries of the world today. Before the war, there were in all about 407 mills in India with 10,295,445 spindles and 201,761 looms giving employment to 505,562 workers. Then this industry had to face keen competition from Japan and great Britain. The outbreak of the World War No. II in 1939, however, gave a great fillip to this industry. The demand for cloth increased so considerably that to meet it, the Indian mills had to work in multiple shifts in spite of the acute shortage of stores, of replacement parts and the difficulty of importing new machines from abroad. This imposed a considerable strain on the existing machines and as a result most of the mills have been left with wornout inefficient plant. In order to replace the wornouts, the mills placed orders with foreign manufacturers. The Madras Prakasham Ministry threatened them that the spindles ordered will be forfeited but thanks to the farsight and wisdom of the undoubtedly great national leaders at the helm of the Central Government, the ordered spindles are to be allocated to the mills concerned for replacement of the wornout etc.

Today this industry is considered to be a public utility service of national importance and is a standing monument to the genius and a glorious tribute to the

achievements in India of free competitive private enterprise. In 1946, The Madras Prakasam Ministry indulged in invectives against the industrialists which resulted in protracted strikes in 1947. In 1948, the Madras ministry witnessed the deleterious effects of its predecessor's policy and at once revised the policy which secured more production and less loss of man-hour days.

The progress of this industry is hampered today by certain impediments and handicaps, the removal of which will redound to the glory of India by helping to solve most of India's economic ills through raising the standard of living of the masses throughout the length and breadth of India. There is no attempt made here to exhaust or particularise such handicaps or impediments but only to indicate their nature by passing reference to some of them.

1. If the Indian textile industries are to make rapid progress, there must be a fully developed machinery manufacturing industry in the country. This new industry is urgently needed in India. It should be noted that at present the country depends mostly on imports for her requirements in textile machinery. It is for this, a plea for the development of Iron, Steel and Machine Tool Industry has been made elsewhere. In this connection we are glad to learn that the consultants appointed by the Central government have reported that even after expending the existing plant, there will still be an annual deficit of over one million tons between demand and supply. The adoption of two plant scheme was favoured by them in preference to one plant scheme. They said that for one plant of 5,00,000 to 6,00,000 tons capacity the estimated capital costs will be between Rs. 50 to 60 crores. All the three consultants have selected sites in Orissa and the Central Provinces for the two plant scheme. The present Madras Ministry is exploring possibilities of establishing one in Madras province in South India from the raw materials available from Sandur etc. Many new developments in Textile industry have taken place both

in England and America during recent years. But almost all the weaving sheds in India contain obsolete plants. The problem is very important since it may necessitate the scrapping of over 65% of our existing looms on account of their old age. The existing machinery should be made efficient till the latest type of efficient plants could be either manufactured locally or obtained from abroad. If, therefore, competition from the foreign countries assumed serious proportion in the future, the Indian textile industry will in all likelihood find it difficult to cope with it unless in the meantime it re-equips itself with new machinery and adopts the latest developments in the industry that have taken place abroad.

2. It is essential that harmonious relations between capital and labour should be established by themselves and amongst themselves without interference from outsiders if the industry is to make rapid strides to the benefit of the poor who are consumers. This subject is dealt with by me elsewhere at length in my series. But here, I merely content myself indicating the particular manner in which that problem presents itself in this industry. In western countries where through their development of industries, their standard of living have automatically been raised, the employment of labour is based on the scientific work load assessment of a worker after an exhaustive analysis of the time taken for the various operations involved in his work. In this assessment, a worker of average skill and efficiency is taken as standard and due allowance is given for the rest. Operatives of this standard get a standard wage. The more efficient among them are being paid a bonus for their superior efficiency. A comparison of the labour conditions in our country, especially in south India, with those in United Kingdom and the United States of America (who have the reputation of maintaining a very high standard of living) reveal, the following fact. According to the latest statistics for 5,12,660 spindles, spinning medium counts (328) 4,930 card room workers and 11,373 spinning room workers are

employed in South India on 2 shifts of 8 hours work a day. This and the figures given in the report of the Platt Commission show that a worker in India does only one eighth of the work turned out by an American worker. This industry can afford to pay high wages to labour only when the output per man hour is increased. The output per manhour can be increased only through the introduction of automatic machinery.

The Indian practice is to have a weaver per two or four looms, whereas improved automatic looms would require one weaver only for 20 looms and above. This would permit greater productivity and economy in production costs and at the same time ensure also a high level of wages to the operatives employed. The use of an automatic weaving machinery from start to finish would give the consumer also a product vastly superior to what he gets now at almost the same price that he is paying now. Of necessity some workers will be thrown out and they have to be trained and absorbed in the third shift as far as possible.

My main purpose in instituting this comparison is to educate the public as to the seriousness of the problem, a glimpse of which we witnessed in the strike that followed on the adoption of the work load system in Coimbatore mills in 1947. The Madras Government insisted on the payment of more wages to the workers without consideration as to their efficiency or their output. The mills insisted on adoption of workload to ensure efficiency and output. The adoption of workload in some form or other led to retrenchment of workers as a necessity and the Government wanted the mills to absorb the thrown out employees in a third shift. But there was difficulty in working out a third shift on account of worn out machinery, want of trained personnel and scarcity of raw materials. This has led to very many loss of man hour days and production went down considerably. But thanks to private enterprise, for the country's cause, it has risen to the occasion and is solving the problem admirably in so much so the production is increasing.

Private enterprise should slowly adopt new methods of recruitment and training of labour. Labour should be educated and trained to handle improved machines which would increase their earning capacity and thereby their standard of living. An effort should be made to introduce labour efficiency schemes to standardise the conditions of work and wages and thus increase the output per worker. Every effort must be made to work the Works Committee without interference from outsiders of all category. The labour must be trained to look to capital for help and relief without intermediaries. It is the duty of the Government to foster such relationship between capital and labour. They must play the role of only counselling and not interfering. If the Government thinks that there are private capitalists who do not listen to their advice, they have the remedy in their own hands to ease them of their excess profits by way of heavy taxation and utilise that amount for welfare schemes for workers. What the capitalist failed to do, they can have it done at his expense. But why should they interfere with the inner working of capital and labour and thus jeopardise the welfare of the masses by killing the goose which lays golden eggs. We, therefore, advocate *Hands off* in the actual working of the industries.

3. The textile industry in South India is to-day menaced by a short supply of raw cotton due to, it is stated, shortage of the same. The Southern India Mill Owners Association stated that unless the Government make immediate arrangements to supply raw cotton to the mills promptly and in adequate quantities there is likelihood of dislocation in the industry. They contend that reintroduction of control over yarn is necessary since large stocks have accumulated and that free market competition could keep prices down. In the circumstances, they want either the government should assume responsibility for the purchase of raw cotton from other countries including Pakistan and supply the textile mills according to their needs or they should abandon control altogether and leave private enterprise free and unfettered. The Government's reply as

disclosed in the discussion that took place at New Delhi on April 11th is to tighten the controls over yarn and cotton. This means that the Government had undertaken to supply cotton to the mills. In this task they are handicaped for want of information and find it difficult to fulfil their self chosen task without the help of mills as to the sources wherefrom cotton could be got.

We would like to take a peep into the position of cotton mill industry to day to understand the above situation. The cotton mill industry is one of the important industries in India. Just as Calcutta is the main centre for jute industry, Bombay is the main centre for cotton mill industry though the first cotton mill in India was established at Bowreah near Calcutta. It made good progress during the years 1943-1944 and 1945-1946 but since then began to decline.

The Government's change of policy is stated to be the reason. We will state their policy in the series B. The National Young Government "at work", elsewhere. Another important reason was the removal of protection for this industry as recommended by The Indian Tariff Board after a period of 21 years of protection granted to this industry from 1927.

Table of production of cotton in million yards

1941—1949	4,493
1942—1943	4,109
1943—1944	4,871
1944—1945	4,707
1945—1946	4,651
1946—1947	3,862

Mr. M. S. Sivaraman, Provincial Textile Commissioner, Madras who returned from New Delhi after attending the conference of representatives of Provincial Governments and States from cotton growing areas, The East India Cotton

Association, The All India Central Cotton Committee and other cotton interests, indicated to the pressmen at Madras on April 16th the way to step up production of cotton without affecting the area under food crops. In the Kari-ganin area comprising Tinnelvely, Ramnad and Madura where Irungi cholam was rotated with cotton, it was found that if Indigo was sown along with Cholam, the yield of the succeeding cotton crop increased by 10 to 15%. Steps should be taken to supply indigo seeds to the ryots and at the same time bring home to them this simple method of increasing production.

In the Northern and Western Zones, comprising the Ceded Districts and Northern Circars, cotton could be grown as a mixed crop with groundnut or chillies wherever possible. In the Cambodia area, if the ryots took care to remove the cholam stubble completely at the time of harvesting, the stubble would not sprout and deplete the soil of the moisture necessary for the next cotton crop.

The area under cotton cultivation went down from 2.55 million acres in 1941-1942 to 1.3 million acres in 1947-1948 and the estimated area for 1948-1949 is only 1.01 million acres and to arrest this deterioration an attractive price should be offered to bring back the lost area under cotton cultivation.

4. Now too many controls and legislative measures hamper the growth and development of the Cotton Textile Industry. The bottlenecks to production should be removed if this industry is to face successfully competition from western countries and capture an increasing portion of the world trade for India's prosperity. The nature of the several controls are indicated here by a passing reference to one or two of them.

A. *Recognition by Government of rank outsider to the industry as the labour leader or president of a labour union.*

He is no more than an opportunist, purely a creature of the Government policy, who has no interest in any industry much less has anything to contribute to the growth of the industry, who mostly does no work himself but by propaganda induces workers to go slow or stop work altogether. This parasite on our country's prosperity should be weeded out if India is to become a leading, happy and wealthy nation.

B. *The employment of revenue officials to control the industry is an anomaly which should soon be ended if the industry is to make progress.* These gentlemen are no doubt good at their job of collecting revenues but when they are asked to do a job in which they have had no training or technical equipment and education to contribute to the development of the industry, they could only obstruct the industries' progress with the powers vested in them. The apparition of the Blackmarketeer in the industries is their making and grows with them.

C. *The Police force* is good at their job of affording safety and protection to the person and property of citizens and peace in the country. But when they became mediators in 1947 and prosecutors in 1948 and their role in 1949 is yet to be defined in the industries in India, the efficiency and output in industries were jeopardised by their ignorance and they became a clog in the wheel of industrial progress. The industry must be freed from their clutches to make headway in progress.

D. *The Setting up of Industrial tribunals manned by retired District Judges.* These itinerant learned gentlemen are asked to give awards in conciliation of Capital and labour. They have had no technical training in industry and further do not know and perhaps also need not know how to develop the industry but are intended to interfere in the domestic relations between capital and labour to neither of which they belong. Necessarily their awards have to be cautious and must take time. This induces capital and labour also to go slow, as they have to await the awards.

This defeats the plan of the Government for the rapid and quick development of the resources of the country for the parties under adjudication are made not to be interested in the *go fast campaign*. As these tribunals are not conducive for immediate rapid development of the industries, they must be dropped here and now. Besides these

E. There are numerous Factory Inspectors, labour officers without technical knowledge, who place more obstruction since they do not know how to help the industry to grow from progress to progress.

Instead of the above, we would appeal to the Government here and now to set up advisory boards in each district and industry comprising of experts in that district and in that industry with technical and university knowledge and education with research and development boards and eminent statisticians who could really be useful to the progress of industry and who by their scientific knowledge can successfully control and direct the industry in such a way that, that industry will bring prosperity to India's masses, affording equal opportunities to the good of all.

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India's Prime Twin needs of the Day

--The Twin Problems Stated Particularly--

Battle for work-Capital and Labour

Thanks to our Indian National Central Government for their recognition that the only way to end our economic falls is through the rapid and quick development of the entire resources of our country. To make it materialise, it is essential, inter alia, that the harmonious relations of Capital and Labour should be maintained. 'Trust begets Trust'. In our country labour trusted capital and capital trusted labour. Let us now examine, the circumstances that have led to the present impasse of labour not trusting capital and vice versa and also the conditions favourable for their happy reunion. This is the burning problem of the day which grips the interest of our Indian National Central Government. To understand the present tangle, we have to take stock of events preceding. It is in short a story of illiterate labour mostly, and illiterate capital partly falling easy victims to unscrupulous political adventurers who in the name of liberty, fraternity and equality exploited their less fortunate brethren to build for themselves fame and name; and in turn one after the other appealing to the Government for intervention.

The Trade Union Movement in India was born with the formation of strike committees after the end of the World War No. 1 when there was an outburst of industrial strife. It must be noted that before 1919 concerted action in the form of strikes for redressing their grievances was not resorted to by workers. The year 1920 saw the establishment of The All India Trade Union Congress. The onrush

of socialistic doctrines promulgated by non-elements of the industries who were neither employers nor employees (known as left wing elements or shortly leftists) assumed control of organised labour and strikes spread far and wide. A degree of militancy and indiscipline crept into the ranks of Indian workers which manifested itself in the form of political agitation with revolutionary slogans and flags. Hence the Government had to intervene and some of the labour ameliorative measures were passed in succession. India became a member of the International Labour Organisation from its very inception from 1919 and since 1922 it has a permanent seat on its governing body as a state of chief industrial importance. The Workman's Compensation Act of 1923; The Trade Union Act of 1926; and The Trade Disputes Act of 1929 were passed. In line the children pledging of Labour act of 1933, the Factories Act of 1934 and the Payment of Wages Act of 1936 also were passed. With the advent of popular government in the provinces in 1937 for sometime there was rapid quickening of the disputes. This led some of the provincial Governments to intervene in labour disputes in the form of Committees of Enquiry and Arbitration.

During world war No. 2 between the years 1939 and 1945, there was an unprecedented expansion of Indian industries leading to unparalled rise in employment. The attitude of the leftists of the Trade Union Congress was responsible for strained relations between Capital and Labour and direct action was resorted to by workers all over the country in respect of wages, dearness allowance, bonus, etc.

To save India's war production which was essential at the moment, the Indian government adopted extensive measures to prevent trade disputes. They established a new organisation consisting of Labour Commissioner, a Deputy, Conciliation Officers, Labour Inspectors etc. and under the Defence of India Rules empowered Provincial Governments to prohibit strikes and lockouts. The post

war condition (present time) 1946-1949, ushered in inflation, scarcity of food stuffs, cloth and consumer goods and the grave problem of unemployment owing to demobilisation, partition and retrenchment. The conditions were thus charged with enough combustibles to set aflame discontent and dissatisfaction. Labour through its organisation became strong. One such strong Labour Union in India at present is the Railway. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation has today 15 affiliated unions with a total membership of 1,29,074 workers. We have at present four trade unions:—A. I. T. U. C. controlled by the Communists, I. N. T. U. C. by the Congress, Federation of labour by the Royists and Indian Labour Congress by the Socialists. During this period India became free and independent and our own national government came into being. The strike wave also spread far and wide and the relations between Capital and Labour became unhappy, and production slowed down. With a view to prevent the worsening of the situation the Central Government passed the Trade Union (Amendment) Act and the Industrial Disputes Act 1947 to promote healthy Trade Unionism and industrial peace. They also set up tripartite consultations and negotiations on the model of International Labour Organisation between Government, employers and Workers' Representatives to resolve differences and also called for an industrial truce for 3 years which was agreed to at the Labour Conference in April 1948 by the employers and workers for stepping up production. Further series of important measures for the welfare of the Indian workers were also passed such as The New Factories Act 1948, The Minimum Wages Act etc. Employers state insurance corporation was also inaugurated. Further there are still pending before the Indian Legislature other labour ameliorative measures. The demand for Labour's share in the profit of production has been raised by the Trade Unions in which the present view of the Central Government is that after preventing excessive profits in industries by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise both Labour and Capital

will share the profit of their common effort after making provisions for payment of fair wages to labour, a fair return on capital employed in the industry and reasonable reserves for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking.

'History repeats itself'. Thus the present day militancy and indiscipline among the ranks of the Indian workers and the story of Government's interference are closely linked up with the growth and development of the Indian Trade Unionism. The leadership of the union when it originated in India was in the hands of the brilliant citizens of India but now it is in the hands of political adventurers whose self is placed before country's interests and who have no compunction for their affinity to foreign power. It is one thing to fight a foreign power through another foreign power but it is totally mischievous and misdirected to fight Indian Nationalism with the crutches of foreign power. Such misguided people will take heed of what they do before it is too late. Alas they know not that they are cutting the branch under their feet!

Healthy trade unionism, we repeat, is good. It could bring about ameliorative measures to labour taking capital with it in harmonious relationship. But what we find today is a good deal of friction and tension in Capital-Labour relationship, the responsibility for which must be laid without much hesitation on the shoulders of unhealthy leadership of the unions now in India. To get rid of this impasse, the best solution is to cleanse the rank and file of trade unionism in the interest of the country by eschewing outsiders. It is to bring about this healthy reform in trade unionism, the Chambers of Commerce of Madras Province recently at Madras represented to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel on 22—2—'49 that it should be enunciated that none save workers in a craft or industry should be officers in trade unions. For it is only just and proper that those who presume to speak for workers should be familiar with their work and the conditions of the industry. The

trade unions of the west are so officered and much of their success is due to that. If the Government of India want to end the exploitation of labour by different categories of political adventurers of Communist, Socialist or Congress variety, they have to eliminate the outsiders from the industry.

The good news coming from New Delhi that the industrial production is rising is not enough, for it has to be maintained if the battle against inflation has to be won. For maintaining the increase in industrial production, there should be complete understanding and co-operation between Labour and Capital in an atmosphere of mutual trust and concord. Indian National Governments especially the provincial governments viewed with suspicion Capital and this suspicion dictated their policies towards private enterprise. For example the Prakasam Ministry in Madras launched not only propaganda but also hurled invectives against capital and private enterprise. This lent support to those who led labour which resulted in pampering labour to make them demand higher and higher wages and teaching them indiscipline and militancy. "Sudden increase in wages does no good while production is low, as it will, in the long run worsen the economic structure" observed Mr. Kidwai (Minister of Education) at New Delhi, addressing the Post and Telegraph workers on 16--2--'49. While the standard of living of the industrial working class deserves to be increased, it should be remembered that it hardly represents one percent of the total population and it has to be weighed against the interests of the 99% of the consumers. The Fair Wages Committee which met quite recently expressed their opinion that though the workers are entitled to living wages, yet the present condition in India ill-affords that possibility. In other words, India has to become a prosperous nation to solve its economic problems.

The condition in Indian Union now is that labour and even capital are uneducated which has led others to intervene. They have to be educated. This has to be undertaken

by the Government so that they may come up to the western standards of living. Further, wages of labour are being enhanced at present without corresponding growth in production, (unlike the western practice) on the plea that Capital makes profits and Labour is poor and impoverished. The question of work and merit is not taken into consideration. There is the Government to see that the excessive and extra gains of capital are taken away. But it is not in the interests of the worker himself to expect higher wages without working to increase his efficiency much less it is in the interest of the community. In India the labour cost per unit of production is higher by 200% in spite of lower wages paid than in other countries because of the lower efficiency and slower production of the Indian worker. In almost every factory in the West they have an apprenticeship scheme and every worker takes 3 years' time before becoming a full-fledged worker. But in India six month's time is considered enough to become a permanent worker. In other countries in some cases where higher skill is required they undergo nearly 7 years training, the usual age being (10-19) for the general kind of training. Here in India one year is considered sufficient. At present the percentage of idleness is 10% in private enterprise and 30% at least in state owned industries... All the idleness in working time is costly and it means that money is paid out for nothing. Many a firm has come to an end because of this reason. The wages of a British workman are 4 times of those paid in Bombay whereas the weaver in Bombay looks after one loom, in England he looks after 6 looms. Therefore in spite of the high wages of the workers the actual labour cost per loom and per yard of fabric produced is lower in England than it is in India. In India a tremendous amount of work has to be done in order to develop consumer industries. The tendency in the West is to work intensively and to produce the largest quantity in the shortest time. Hence it is that their standard of living has been raised. The opinion of the Government of India on the question of profit sharing by labour is that it should be equated to

to their productive capacity. This is quite welcome since according to standards any scheme of profit sharing should be worked out putting a premium on efficiency and greater output on the part of the labourer and on the part of the industry. Rather it should be more like a scheme of production bouns than a scheme of profit sharing. For nowhere in the world is there any such profit sharing scheme as such on a country-wide basis.

Here and now we welcome the decision of the I. L. O. Charter of Rights for Labour, enunciating the formation of healthy trade unionism. In the Indian Union there were 216 new Trade Unions formed in 1947-1948 making a total of 729 unions in all since the passing of the Indian Trade Union act.....To-day the Labour Union is one of the main cogs in the gear of industrial production in India, for its leaders to day are aiming at political power and personal distinction for themselves without any consideration for the interests of the nation. This is rendered possible because of the illiteracy and indifference of the Indian worker. The average Indian worker is not ambitious to work to improve himself and to benefit the industry for the prosperity of the country. He is irresponsible and it is no fault of his, for he is allowed by the Government to be taught to be irresponsible. To quote an instance. The Bombay Socialist leader, Mr Asoka Mehta, addressing the textile workers at Coimbatore in 1948 said that if certain mills were not able to work efficiently, Govt. should not hesitate to do away with such incompetant managements. The Daily Mail rightly commented on it that he had of course his own meaning for the words "efficiency" and "incompetent". According to him the "inefficient" and 'incompetent' managements are those which do not submit to him or to his followers.

State Regimentation, Socialisation or Nationalisation however termed tends to inflate the conditions of living and this is not the time for our country to experiment on it. Rightly the Government of India have shelved

it for another ten years and our Deputy Prime Minister avers that our country could not attempt it now. The Provinces which have attempted *nationalisation* in one or two industries have found it costly. We find a sample in the Madras Province's *nationalisation* of transport. It could be done only by increasing the passenger fares and this hits the poor passenger who is asked to pay it. The experience of the workers and people in Great Britain is much the same. There too *nationalisation* has been followed by increase in prices of the products nationalised such as Coal, Electricity etc. Thus this bogey of *nationalisation* added to irresponsible labour leadership is, to-day in India, the cause for the Capital going hiding and becoming shy. At this time Government of India inviting foreign capital for the rapid industrialisation of the country on the same terms as are allowed to the local Capital will not meet with success unless least *State interference* and *healthy trade unionism* are guaranteed. Sir Homi Modi rightly points out that the country to which we are to-day looking for assistance is one which is wedded to the idea of free enterprise and abhors anything in the nature of State Regimentation of the industries. He reminds us that it is a country too in which both Capital and Labour believe that by their co-operation, they can achieve more for themselves and for the benefit of the State. American organised labour is never weary of telling its members that the more the State interferes with the industry, the heavier will be the consequent burden of the administration upon the tax-payer. The best example is in our Madras Province wherein our Finance Minister is never weary of levying taxes on the plea that this is the best time to levy taxes to meet the cost of the State administration. The whole basis of Capital and Labour relationship in U. S. A. is the elimination of outside interference and substitution therefor of mutual discussion and right understanding of one another's problems among themselves and this policy has proved wholesome. If standards in U. S. A. today are higher than anywhere else in the world, if the worker in

U. S. A. whether on the land or in a factory gets a higher wage and lives a fuller life than his counterpart in other countries, it is because his union seeks to co-operate with the Capital to bring down costs by increasing productions thus making it possible for Capital to pay the higher wages which the rising standards demand. But unfortunately, in India, today the Labour leadership is in the hands of political parties who distrust Capital and attempt at sabotaging the existing National Government. We are glad the Government of India have begun to move in this matter. "The Government of India are taking steps to see that outsiders do not hold such positions in labour executives as would enable them to foment unrest in labour ranks", declared, Mr. Jaleshwar, Chief Labour Commissioner, Government of India, speaking at a reception on July 8th, 1949 at Patna. "With this object in view", he added, "the Government of India are drafting a Labour Relations Bill to limit the membership of Labour Executives drawn from the non-working Class strata to 4% of its total complement, as against 50% permitted under the existing legislation".

India has yet to learn the experience of the West because in India to-day both Labour and Capital look to Government assistance in achieving what could be better secured by close co-operation among themselves. But so long as private enterprise is not left free, save for the minimum regulations necessary to ensure fair-play to all engaged in industry and labour is not encouraged to deal directly with Capital and vice versa, till then the development of our country's resources will be halted and Capital foreign and indigenous will fight shy. The Bombay Financial Minister Mr. V. L. Mehta at Bombay on Feb. 19, 1949 put forward a plea for the removal of bitterness between Labour and Capital and stressed the importance of the Employer and Employee looking upon themselves as co-participants in the task of stepping up production. "Both are means to an end and that is to produce in plenty in the country as a whole". He rightly condemned the attempt to substitute the weapon of strike

for the ballot box ; and threat pressure and coercion to persuasion reasoning and argument. We trust and hope that his voice will not be a cry in wilderness. The Indian Government which has hitherto been trying to placate their political opponents whose objectives were camouflaged under the leadership of the Labour Unions will now open their eyes to the sabotaging methods of their opponents and in time steer clear from them by checking them and keeping the situation on hand. Sir Hugh in 1947 commenting on the policy adopted by the National Government then, observed, that we were suffering from lack of realism and that outside interference in Labour and Capital relationship had brought about *indiscipline* and *militancy* in the labour rank and file which should be checked in time.

We are told that the Works Committees are intended to bring Capital and Labour together so that they may understand one another but that it is not in their Province to resolve their differences, which had to be done by the Industrial Tribunal (an outside Body). It should be noted here and now that the problem before us in Capital and Labour relationship is not in their personal relation but in Labour's agitation for higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus etc. So the object of the Works Committee is rendered a farce and it is worth scrapping out before it comes to an end by itself through inanition. Instead of Industrial Tribunals which at present are outside Bodies, it is better to have tripartite Councils for every district, instead of only one for India as at present, with representatives of Labour, Capital and the Government (who have a knowledge of the working of industry) so that in every major industry at least industrial truce may be observed in order to increase production for the good of the Industry which might in time lead to the reunion of Capital and Labour which alone will contribute to the happiness of the common citizen and prosperity of India.

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Battle for Literacy

Why countries like Canada, Australia, U. S. A. and U. K. are so prosperous and why India, a sub-continent, with a population equal to all the above countries put together is so poor, and how the citizens of the above Western Countries are able to live to at least twice the age than those in India and how they have managed to raise their standard of living to the present high level and thus wrested a clean march over those here in India? The answer to this one question, as pointed out by Sir M. Visvesvaraya is illiteracy which have led to the indolence of the average Indian Citizen, whereas his counter-part in the West is literate and hence ambitious and strains every nerve to uplift himself and his country. It is the primary duty of our young national Government to take immediate steps to make its citizens become alive to their duties and responsibilities. No cost or expenditure is too high to give a high priority to literacy drive (battle for literacy), for then alone we repeat, that it will open the eyes of every one of its citizens to the fact that each of them should work to uplift himself and thus make India great and the Indian Nation a power and might, to reckon with.

In the wake of freedom, we have several problems to solve, but all of them could be solved if only we could concentrate our primary individual attention on the most important and outstanding of these—the liquidation of illiteracy, which in turn will liquidate, the bane of our nation to-day, indolence and apathy. With the introduction of adult franchise, it is urgent that the masses should be educated properly so that they may reap fully the benefits of democracy. It should be borne in mind that the working

of the adult franchise depends on battle for literacy. The right vote in adult franchise should be made dependant on ability to read and write. Otherwise the future of democracy would be at stake since the illiterate is prone to sell his vote. A Government to be a real Government of the people, should be a Government of the literate people. No progress in economic, political and social life of the people is possible if illiteracy is not eradicated from the country. In this connection let me quote the stirring appeal made by Dr. L. Mathias, Archbishop of Madras: "We all know the terrible evils of illiteracy. Like a blight upon the land, it withers every hope, promise, progress and development..... To the individual literacy brings the realisation of fuller life. It opens to him new vistas of interest, pleasure and action. Knowledge is power. If our country were 100% literate what a tremendous power would the people wield! They would be able to take a more intelligent interest in the administration of the country and work with great efficiency for its welfare. The greatest asset of a country is a high percentage of literacy to its people."

It is true the problem of cradicating illiteracy in India, where a population greater in number than the entire population of the Western Hemisphere except Russia is illiterate, is stupendous. India is the second largest populated nation in the World and only 10% of her population are literate. We admit that the work to be done is colossal. This should not deter us lest we should sink. But we must determine to solve it by adopting in right earnest here and now titanic measures to fight *Battle for Literacy*, so that our people as they become literate by reading books and hearing lectures, could better their conditions by themselves so much so the Government would have done its duty to make its citizens active and energetic to perform their obligations and duties to their country instead of sitting tight on their rights and privileges.

The need of the hour 'Battle for Literacy' is peremptory. Any bargaining at this hour in the immediate adoption

of full vigorous measures, either through lack of funds or other reasons, is only bargaining for our poverty and extinction as a race. This should be borne in mind. We repeat once again. As rightly observed by Dr. Frank Lambach, special Counsellor, World Literacy Committee, when addressing the Adult Education Conference at Madras on 26th March 1949:— "this present big vicious circle of poverty cum illiteracy in India must be tackled and broken at the point of illiteracy". There is no use in complaining against the foreign government which quitted in 1947. It served its purpose. It had opened our eyes against class exclusiveness and monopoly in learning and liberalised education to come within the reach of all. Nevertheless it suited them to keep the masses uneducated so that there might be less thorns by their side in administration. They took advantage of cheapness of education prevalent in India. Vedas were taught in the dark corridors of the temples without light, adequate space or use of slates, since they were all repeated from memory. Further philanthropists subsidised money for education. Naturally the foreign Govt. were niggardly in expending for education. But now the time has come when the People's Government must and should be of the literate people. There is no evasion of this issue further possible. Merely declaring ourselves as a democratic state on the strength of our ancient civilization does no good to anybody, much less to ourselves, unless and until side by side immediate titanic steps are adopted by us to practically reinforce that declaration of evolving a democratic state in reality (in full sum and substance). We will state in detail elsewhere under the heading 'THE YOUNG NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AT WORK' what our Central and Provincial Governments have done in this direction. Here, we will content ourselves by merely indicating the manner how best this battle for literacy could be fought and won. But as our field now at present is confined to educating illiterate adults and children, we do not touch the field of higher education which follows as a sequence to our huge efforts in child and adult education.

Battle for Literacy must be a forked pincer double edged drive. A vigorous drive for compulsory universal child education must be supplemented and complemented by a simultaneous gigantic effort for compulsory universal adult education. We repeat that unless the present system of compulsory school attendance of the children is reinforced by adult literacy campaign, India will not become literate. We are already witnessing the debacle of great wastage in primary education in vogue because the school going children drop out on the way, as no adequate provision is made to complete their attendance till their course is finished or till they attain a particular age. In India, which is primarily a land of villages whose population more than 80% reside in villages, to bring the children to school even in compulsory areas is so difficult because of their parents who, illiterate as they are, have no desire to see them literate.

What state should do to enforce Compulsory Universal Adult Education

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1. Every inducement, encouragement and attraction should be extended by the young National Government to the present educated youth in India to make him realise his obligations to his countrymen and to come forward to work with zest in eradicating the illiteracy of his neighbour taking interest in him. Each one (literate) to teach one (illiterate) should no longer remain an ideal but must be translated into action. Sufficient encouragement should be offered to educated adults to go to the villages and through their lectures, wall pictures and cinema slides make the villagers take interest in education. The head of the village and other officials of the village should be educated first and they should be selected to carry on the propaganda. There is no need at this stage for trained adults in Social Education since it will take time and we will let go the precious time of becoming a prosperous nation early. Every inducement should be offered to make them develop

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enthusiasm for the liquidation of illiteracy. We stress the need for full coordination by official and non official agencies in the liquidation of adult illiteracy.

2. The method of approach in educating the illiterate adult should be from the known to the unknown. Greatest care should be taken as to the practical aspect of teaching the illiterate by creating a psychological background by which the illiterate would never feel inferior to his teacher. Books should be in simple mother tongue about everyday interesting things and he must be induced to read newspapers and periodicals in mother tongue which should be specially published each month in simple language taking care to add more and more new words every time.

Adults should not be bothered with the children's books lest they might resent them.

3. As Dr. Franck Lambach said 'if you teach a man, you have taught one but if you teach a woman, you have taught a family. The problem of making India literate was more a problem for woman than man. If you do not make a woman literate nobody will'. If every educated man and woman are induced to respond to this call, they can make India literate in no time.

Universal Compulsory Child Education is a Necessity

The greatest of India's problems today is to give a basic amount of education to every child as a birth-right. It should be understood that the child of today is the adult citizen of tomorrow. In a country with 45 million children between the ages of 6 and 14 we have only, 50,00,00 teachers. We need 17,00,000 teachers at the least. The principle that the education of the children must be the responsibility of the State which should provide necessary facilities and create conditions for child education, has been recognised by our young National Government.

At present there is no system of primary education in most parts of India though the number of rural and urban schools are slowly increasing. Most of the primary schools are run by Local Boards and Municipalities. As an eminent educationalist remarked "the teachers employed in those institutions are paid the wages which are paid to domestic servants and whenever they ask for living wages their attention is drawn by the authorities to the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi adorning their ricketty walls to inculcate in them that love of labour and sacrifice must be their ambition in life as a homage to the greatest son of India" and yet our Educational Minister asks these teachers to maintain the dignity of their profession. Eight Provincial Legislatures have passed compulsory Primary Educational Acts.

Excise Revenue Sacrificed

Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, when he was Premier, of this province, said that the existing facilities for education in this province could cater only to the needs of about 12% of the population. If they wanted to give free and compulsory education to all the children in the province, the Government would require 46 crores of rupees while the whole income of the Government was only 48 crores. And, yet he, heading his Government, threw away 17½ crores of annual excise revenue in spite of the advice of his own Central Government. We the 5 crores of the citizens of the province have no voice to question the 200 gentlemen for this wanton act of depriving 5 crores of population from their legitimate birthright to education, to better their conditions of life and to lead prosperous lives. Our Madras Government excels in volums of publications on designs in prosperity, in sending teachers to be trained for basic education but not in doing 'first things' first things which alone will save, at this juncture, the 52 millions' of this province.

What is Mysore doing?

We will now commend for emulation to the Madras Government what has been achieved by a sister State,

Mysore in the face of similar circumstances. Mysore State recognising that education is the need of a growing democracy the first financial act of the popular government has been to raise the educational budget from 15.8% of the total revenue to 25.8%. This is due to the forward policy undertaken by the people's Government which has given education the highest priority in the national effort. Introducing full compulsory universal elementary education in nine taluks of the State, Mysore's People's Government observed with deserved pride 'We are standing on the threshold of great and momentous happenings and if the youth of the land are to be worthy of the inheritance which is theirs, we have to begin in right earnest to equip them for this great task. This can be done only by spreading education throughout the length and breadth of the land and by giving the right orientation to it on the national lines'. The scheme of compulsory attendance of children which was introduced in the year 1945—1946 provided for the compulsory retention of pupils once admitted to schools on a voluntary basis until the completion of the course or until the age of 12 whichever was earlier. The scheme which was introduced in nine taluks of the State in that year is being extended to a fresh set of nine taluks every year since then. Mysore Adult Educational Council has organised literary classes for adults and have given every encouragement to voluntary agencies working to eradicate the pest of illiteracy from the land. Vans fitted up with a generator and a loud speaker and educational films (cine), not to speak of radios, folk songs dances, are engaged in imparting visual and oral education to people living in villages. At the present rate, the people of Mysore with the help of their Government are determined to end the scourge of illiteracy tooth and nail from their State in fifteen years. All glory to those brave soldiers armed with the weapon of emergency carrying the torch of enlightenment to the nook and corner of their land!

B. The Young National Government at Work.

A brief sketch of the history of Elementary Education in India

With the advent of British Rule in India, a new chapter in Indian Educational History began which Charles Modi's despatches in 1854 laying stress on primary education on one hand and on the other, facilitating higher education resulting in the foundation of the Universities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay in 1857. With the introduction of constitutional reforms in 1921, Indian Education became a provincial transferred subject and was placed under the charge of a Minister responsible for the Provincial Legislative Council. The Central Advisory Board of Education and the Bureau of Education began refunctioning in August and December 1935 respectively. The main subject before the board for consideration was that of primary education. The year 1938—1939 is important in that it initiated many experiments on the lines of Wardha scheme. This is an adaptation to Indian needs of educational changes which have revolutionised the elementary stage of education in England. In 1940—1941, there were 11,697,849 pupils in the recognised primary schools as against 11,445,372 in 1939—1940. Of these 8,828,396 were boys and 2,869,453 were girls. This figure sounds impressive but education in India cites interesting statistics of great wastage in Primary Education.

Post War Educational Plan

The most important piece of work done by the Central Advisory Board of Education was a post war scheme for a national system of education with a view to provide all children to pass the high schools and enter the portals of a

university. This scheme was approved at a special meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education at Dehra Dun on the 13th, 14th & 16th October 1948. This scheme was outlined in a Memorandum prepared by Sir John Sargeant, the then Education Adviser to the Government of India as a part of post-war reconstruction plan in 1945. According to the plan, literacy in India will be complete at the end of 50 years. It comprises of a 20 years campaign to liquidate illiteracy among adults. Mr Sargeant lays stress on the importance of a system of universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14. It is estimated to cost Rs. 200 crores and would call for 1,80,000 teachers to teach 52,000,000 pupils.

The Young National Central (Congress) Government at work

Their first act was to form a separate Ministry of Education at the Centre. They passed a resolution on August 14th, 1948, defining their policy regarding the medium of instruction in educational institutions. They stressed the principle that a child should be instructed in the early stage of its education through the medium of its mother tongue. In this connection owing to several languages prevailing locally, it is found difficult for any State or Province to adopt any single language as the medium of instruction. Further it is felt that unless a minimum number of children with a similar mother tongue are available, teaching in their mother tongue will create administrative and financial difficulties. The Government of India have defined *First Stage of Education* as the stage of primary education to the group of children of the ages of 6 and 11 in their mother tongue at the junior basic stage; *Second Stage of Education* as a higher stage after junior basic stage when the pupils have to learn the language of the province.

Maulana Azad, Minister of Education, Government of India on 8-1-49, presiding over the 15th Meeting of the

Central Advisory Board of Education disclosed that the Government have accepted the entire report of the Committee of Experts appointed by the Government of India on the introduction of Universal Compulsory Basic Education in the country. A new system of adult education which would in future be called *social education* had also been accepted. He also announced a 12 points programme to speed up the schemes and said that funds have been provided in the next year's budget for the implementation of the schemes. He, presiding over the meeting next day (9-1-'49), confirmed and amplified the resolution passed at the second All-India Conference on Child Education, that the education of the children must be the responsibility of the State which should provide necessary facilities and create conditions for child education in every part of the country, introducing time limit of 10 years to the group of children of the ages of 6 and 11 without detriment to facilities for abler children to pass to the secondary and higher education.

In this connection the Government of India, Ministry of Education has drawn up several schemes which constitute the new educational edifice :—

A. Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education has worked out a detailed scheme of social education with the target of obtaining 5% literacy within a period of 3 years.

B. A second Committee has prepared the framework of secondary education in India.

C. A third Committee has dealt with the most controversial problem of the medium of instruction in the universities.

D. A fourth Committee is working out the ways and means of promoting educational development in India.

... We would here and now appeal to the Government of India to retain the present arrangement of having a separate

Minister for Education in the new set up also and not to tack it on to a Minister having other portfolios as is contemplated in the proposals before them arising from devaluation and retrenchment if they want to implement their declaration of 6th April 1948 that their immediate objective is to provide educational facilities and to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country, increasing production and offering potentialities to all for employment in the service of the country thus solving the economic problems.

The Madras Government at work

In 1944, The Madras Govt. in accordance with the recommendations of the post war committee, prepared a plan of *compulsory education* to bring under instruction 1,390,000 children within the five years—1946-1951. The number of pupils actually admitted under the scheme at the end of 1947 was only 1,69,078. As an inducement to poor children to join schools under the Compulsory Elementary Educational scheme, free midday meals, books, and slates were supplied to school children at Government cost.

The Congress Madras Government which started well in 1946 with a separate Minister in charge of Education answerable to the Legislature has in 1949 beginning relegated it to a secondary place by tacking it on as an additional portfolio to the Law Minister. We would point out here and now that unless a separate Minister is placed in charge of Education, the Government will be spoon-feeding the indolent. They discontinued in April 1948 giving free mid-day meals to poor children, on the plea of lack of funds. We would plead reconsideration on this matter since already there is great wastage in primary education. They accepted Basic Education as the method of instruction. They deputed a batch of officers and teachers to Wardha to undergo the course in basic education and decided after the close of the

quinquennium 1946-1951 to convert ordinary elementary schools into basic schools as and when sufficient number of teachers trained in basic education became available. The number of secondary schools for boys and girls increased from 588 to 620 for boys and from 108 to 181 for girls. The scheme for reorganisation of secondary education providing a large variety of course of study popularly known as bifurcated courses was introduced after the close of the quinquennium 1945-1949. The use of the mother-tongue of the majority of the pupils as the medium of instruction generally in all schools was insisted on with a view to guide the publication of text books in the regional languages. They published also standard lists of scientific terms in the regional languages in 1947. Early in 1947, a Board of Experts in all branches of education called the principal Advisory Board of Education was constituted to advise the Government.

With the introduction of compulsory education, the shortage of teachers was felt very acutely. Therefore, between 1946-1947, 990 men and 189 women were trained under the emergency course of training of the secondary grade of one year's duration and payment of stipends for the secondary grade training was restored. Although it is 10 years since the University of Madras has interested itself in adult education, it is only now steps are being taken in that direction. The government is considering the proposal to have adult literary centres attached to secondary schools which number 1041 through the elementary schools which number over 4000. They have opened 1000 schools in villages in 1948 to provide in all 3,500 villages with a population of 500. We are glad to learn that there is a proposal to open a training school for teachers in basic education at Periyanaickenpalayam near Coimbatore. we have now an opportunity of knowing what it exactly is, since it is close to Malabar.

B. The Young National Government at Work

A brief sketch of Government of India's Industrial policy

The Young National Government headed by the greatest son and precious jewel of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister, made a declaration of its industrial policy in 1948, *inter alia*, that the state could contribute more quickly to the increase of national wealth by expanding its present activities wherever it is already operating and by concentrating on new units of production in other fields, rather than acquiring and running existing units. Meanwhile private enterprise properly directed and regulated has a valuable role to pay. On these considerations, they decided that:—

(A) manufacture of arms and ammunitions.

(B) the production and control of the Atomic Energy, and

(C) the ownership and management of railway transport should be the exclusive monopoly of the Central Government.

In the following industries, the state which include Central, Provincial and state Governments and other public authorities will be exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings except where in the national interests the state itself finds it necessary to secure the co-operation of private enterprise subject to such control and regulation as the Central Government may prescribe:—

(A) Coal (B) Iron and steel (C) Air craft Manufacture (D) Ship Building (E) Manufacture of telephones, telegraph and wireless apparatus excluding radio receiving sets and (F) Minerals. Provided in any emergency the Central Government would always have the power to take over any industry vital for national defence.

State Enterprise

The Management of state enterprise will as a rule be through the medium of public corporations under the statutory control of the Central Government. There are

certain basic industries of importance apart from those mentioned above, the planning and regulation of which by Central Government is necessary in the national interest.

The following industries will be the subjects of central control and regulation.

(A) Salt (B) Automobiles and tractors (C) Prime movers (D) Electric Engineering. (E) Other heavy Machineries (F) Machine tools (G) Heavy chemicals, fertilizers, Pharmaceuticals and drugs (H) Electro-chemical industries (I) Nonferrous metals (J) Sugar (K) Paper and Newsprint (L) Air and Sea Transport (M) Minerals and (N) Industries relating to the defence etc.

private Enterprise

The Government of India have decided to let existing undertakings to develop for a period of 10 years during which time they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion. At the end of 10 years the whole matter will be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at that time. If it is decided that the state should acquire any unit, the fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution will be observed and compensation awarded on a fair and equitable basis.

Foreign Capital

It is realised that the participation of foreign capital will be of value for industrial technique and knowledge but it will be carefully regulated in the national interest. Suitable legislation will be introduced for this purpose. The law will provide that as rule the major interest in the ownership should always be in the Indian hands.

Agricultural Policy:

• The vast cultivable waste lands all over India should have the highest priority to be brought under the plough for substantially raising the primary produce and attaining a maximum self-sufficiency in the matter of food. The import

of foodgrains into India from foreign countries should stop by 1951, as has been proposed, and during the next year the import of foodgrains should be restricted to the barest necessity since it is a drain on the revenues of the country especially so, after the devaluation of the rupee in terms of the dollar.

Cottage Industries

The Government of India have constituted a Cottage Industries Board and propose to create a suitable machinery to implement its recommendations. A cottage and small industries directorate will also be set up under the Directorate General of Industries and Supplies. The National Planning Committee have emphasised the important role of cottage industries in national economy as these alone will provide a considerable proportion of cottage funds and employment for a large number of workers.

Measures to Check Inflation

Four-pronged drive was initiated to achieve this end in October, 1948. They were:—

(A) to take all possible steps to keep the Government expenditure as low as possible, consistent with efficiency and to increase revenues by all available means;

(B) to make a concerted effort immediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and cost of living;

(C) to order future policy so as to secure in the shortest possible time a progressive reduction in prices to reasonable levels and to ensure the supply of an increasing volume of goods and services;

(D) wherever possible every endeavour should be made to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the people to prevent any addition thereto.

Labour Welfare Schemes

The Government of India's Five Year Plan launched in 1946 by the Hon. Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Labour, aims at a uniform co-ordinated labour policy for the entire country to promote social security and industrial peace, to ensure fair wages, satisfactory conditions of work, a higher standard of living, and to provide for education and training and full employment. The plan includes not only workers in organised industries but also others such as in agriculture, commerce etc.

The post-war depression and the resultant industrial unrest paved the way for the Government to take a deeper interest in labour problems. With a view to prevent the unrest from taking a serious turn, The Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 was passed which is to be substituted by a new Act shortly. It authorises the setting up of machinery for twofold purposes of prevention and settlement of disputes. The adoption in recent times of tripartite consultations and negotiations on the model of international labour organisation has helped to prevent and settle disputes. Labour Conference and its standing Labour Committees have furthered full and frank discussion of labour problems. The year 1948 is epoch-making in labour legislation. Several ameliorative measures for labour have been passed; some were passed this year and still there are many more on the anvil.

In order to secure the maximum increase in production, the Government of India accepted the following proposals of the Industrial Conference held in 1947. The system of remuneration to Capital as well as to Labour must be so devised that while in the interests of consumers and primary producers excessive profits should be prevented by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise, both will share the product of their common effort after making provision for payment of fair wages to labour, fair return to Capital employed in the industry, and reasonable reserves for the

maintenance and expansion of the industry. The labour share of profit should be on the sliding scale normally varying with production. They propose in addition to establish a suitable machinery for advising on fair wages, on fair remuneration to Capital and on improving conditions of labour. They will also take steps to associate labour in all matters concerning industrial production. The machinery will consist of:—

1. A Central Advisory Council
2. Provincial Labour Advisory Board
3. Works and production Committees attached to each major industrial establishment.

The Government of India on 29th September, 1948 have set up a tripartite Central Advisory Council with a view to ensure the fullest cooperation between labour and Management and to maintain stable and friendly relations between them. The main function of the Council will be to advise the Government of the measures to be taken to achieve their objectives as set forth in their resolution on their industrial policy dated 6th April, 1948. In particular, the Council will advise the Government on the determination of fair wages to Labour, fair return on Capital employed, reasonable reserve, and Labour's share of the surplus profits and on the methods by which labour could cooperate with employers in securing an increase in production and for regulation of relations between employer and labour. The council recently decided on a scheme of fair wages to labour, but disagreed on the question of participation of labour in profits at present. The Minimum Wages Bill for labour in certain industries and for agricultural labour was passed and it will come into effect from 1st April, 1950.

C. Plea for "First things First"

True Citizenship the need of the hour

India which has just attained freedom from foreign yoke should address herself to First Things First, in any scheme of development. The prosperity of the country

depends upon a large number of our people being happy and prosperous. Therefore it is the primary duty of the Government to educate its citizens to enable them to understand their rights and duties, which alone will make them happy and prosperous. True citizenship is a blessing which is the outcome of unceasing effort on the part of every individual citizen to clothe, feed, and improve himself. Every citizen should enjoy the fruits of his labour in the form of rights and responsibilities.

The average Indian Citizen to-day is indolent and apathetic, as he is illiterate and poor. He does not know the value of his work in terms of his own happiness and his country's prosperity. It is the paramount duty of the Government to awaken this dormant feeling in him by helping him with the light of introspection. In short, it is their duty to educate him to understand his duties and responsibilities in a free India. He has to evince interest in himself in terms of his country men. He has to feel that if he is happy, the Indian nation will be prosperous. His latent resources have to be exploited for the service of India. He has to get delighted to work hard straining every nerve, until his happiness and his country's prosperity is assured.

What is the Indian Govt. doing?

What is our Indian Government doing to achieve this end? The Central Government headed by the greatest son of India Pandit Jawaralal Nehru has shown greatest ability in manning his cabinet with the best talents in the land irrespective of caste, creed, rank or party. It is addressing itself to the task of providing security in the land which was for a while threatened by the communal clash and in making available essential commodities for their living. It is commendable that it has a separate Minister for Education who is engaged in awakening the power of understanding in people to realise their duties and responsibilities to the state. Unless and untill illiteracy and poverty, the two great dangers which face our land today, are removed

rapidly, we shall always stand on the brink of extinction as a race. We should avoid giving room for the com-inform bear in the guise of wolf entering by the back door. Even with a separate Minister in charge of education, it is found difficult to quickly educate the people. We learn that there are retrenchment proposals as a result of devaluation and economic difficulties, to relegate education to a secondary place by shoving it on to a Minister holding other portfolios. This should not be done in the interests of 80% of the population who are still illiterate. We will be depriving them of their legitimate birthright to education. If the state takes up on itself the task of feeding, clothing and finding jobs, then they take away the initiative in the people themselves and the result will be fascism and iron curtain domination.

The cominform Government is the only one which is suitable to state regimentation, for the Government undertakes to spoon feed its citizens at their cost. The citizens are slaves to the Government having no initiative in themselves. They have to do what they are told for the food and clothes they receive. This is a thorough denial of human freedom reducing a citizen to a machine which when oiled and geared and started repeats His Master's Voice. Viewed from the human stand point, Cominform is a barbarous primitive type reducing human beings to automatons to be at the beck and call of the few.

The warning we give applies more to the Provincial Governments whose Failure to do First Things First to its citizens, is an open invitation to Commissariat and Protolitarian rule. We repeat that it is the first and Primary duty of any good Government to train its citizens in the art of governing themselves. If the mind of the people is awakened to their duties, they will zealously work to uplift themselves. Ten to One they will not only learn to feed and clothe themselves but also correct and alter their social and moral lives accordingly.

Mere Idealism will not do

Mere idealism or good intention is no good when for example in Madras Province 52 millions of people are mostly illiterate and famished. It is high time that immediate practical steps are taken to guide and help the people to attain freedom from their wants. No time must be wasted to educate the people. Therefore we urge that battle for literacy must precede battle for work. When once the battle for literacy is won, battle for work is also won, for people will come to know why they should work, how work elevates them, and how their country's greatness is the result of their unceasing work.

We have lost our ancient civilization through idealism and inaction. Let us not lose that freedom through the idealism of the inexperienced. It is one thing to fight against a government but it is totally a different thing to run a government. The rule of force and thumb must give way to rule by love and understanding. There is no use creating conditions in favour of communism and then suppressing it by ban. The Indian Government should try to win over its citizens by love, moral force, and character instead of curbing their free spirit which will be detrimental to the country as well. There can be no socialism and communism in India, if the Indian Government take the people into their confidence by regulating free competitive private enterprise and manning the provincial cabinets also with the able and experienced among its citizens.

Our Indian Government should lose no time in doing "first things first" which we hereunder briefly indicate.

Educating citizens to their duties in a Free India

... 1. That is in other words, the state should awaken in them love for work and for their country, as the panacea

to cure their present day ills, so that through work they may raise themselves to enjoy the fruits of their labour in the form of rights. This will help the government to reduce its expenditure on imports and save the expenditure on controls and at the same time free their hands to undertake national development schemes. The Indian Government has defined literacy as being able to read and write a post card in one's mother tongue. We appeal to them here and now that in enumeration for adult franchise this literacy qualification should be insisted upon. It should be designated literacy adult franchise. If this is not done, there are those waiting to take advantage of the illiteracy and poverty of the adult voters, for a swing in their favour so much so really able and experienced citizens could not command vote.

2. The administration in the provinces also as in the centre, should be in the hands of able and experienced men who know the art and science of administration.

3. Narrow provincialism and class fanaticism must give place to liberal and wide outlook.

4. In every sphere of activity, people conversant and practising the profession must be consulted and allowed to aid the government. Private competitive free enterprise in national interest should be permitted to play a dominant part in every sphere of life, more so in industries, to solve the economic ills in the country.

5. Rule by thumb and by ordinance must give place to love and unity.

6. No discrimination or favouritism should be shown to classes, sects or sex. But the best talent should be drawn for the service of the country from all classes, sects and sex, irrespective of party or creed. Just as women are today enfranchised to hold property so also they have every right to full inheritance as men. This reform should not be delayed to placate any party or creed.

Conclusion

Blessed is the state that educates its citizen to understand that his welfare and happiness consists in the happiness and welfare of his countrymen and that love and labour alone helps a nation to become strong and prosperous.

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SUPPLEMENT 26—1—1950

The Inauguration of the Indian Republic

Long Live The Indian Republic

Today the twentysixth of January, one Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty is a 'Red-Letter Day' in the Constitutional History of India, when 32 crores of hearts in the Indian Union beat in joy and pride on the inauguration of India as a Republic with a unique Constitution of its own.

We are glad that at this juncture, we have amidst us, trusted and talented leaders at the helm of affairs, who desire our cooperation to make their gigantic efforts a real success. Our beloved and respected Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru replying to the address of welcome by Poona City Municipality quite recently, Requested the co-operation of every Indian Citizen to contribute his individual share to the increasing of national wealth and declared that in the untimate analysis of things, it is the people of the country and not the Government that would have to overcome our present Social and Economic difficulties, and lead the country towards the path of progress and plenty.

Thanks to our new Constitution of India, every citizen should evince interest in building an efficient and powerful Indian Nation. Its monumental provisions in Part III under Fundamental Rights-Sections 14 to 32 ensure, besides others, equality in the eye of law to all citizens, non-discrimination between citizen and citizen on grounds of race, caste, sex, place of birth etc within the Indian Union; equal opportunities to all citizens in public employments; abolition of untouchability and making the practice of same in any form or grade illegal and punishable under the Law, and above all freedom of religion, speech and movement in

the Indian Union, and right to property, life and liberty according to law.

It is noteworthy that Sec. 32 states the enabling clause to move the Supreme Court for the enforcement of the above rights under the 'Fundamental Rights'. In part IV under the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' the State ensures to its citizens especially under Sections 39 to 51, fair play, equal status and pay to both sexes; guarantee to right to work, education living wages and decent standards of living; assurance of free and compulsory education to all children upto the age of 14 within a period of ten years from now on, and protection against exploitation of weaker sections of the people.

Now that a sound new Constitution is accepted, to establish it firmly or rather to work it successfully, the development of capacity and character in every Indian citizen in every direction and on a every extensive scale is required. The success of the beneficent measures guaranteed under the constitution will depend upon the existence of educated public who can appreciate the benefits and give effect to them by constantly focussing attention of the Government on them. Today the Indian educated population is by itself larger than the entire population of the United Kingdom but the character of the education they have had is not of the type to achieve national solidarity. Therefore the right kind of education should be spread into the nook and corner of ourland with a view to build up India into a United and prosperous Nation in the shortest time possible.

A citizen's capacity and character depend not only on his or her heredity and traditions but also on the education and practical training he or she receives. For the vast majority of persons who do not wish to go beyond the elementary course of education and training, there is need to train them in the three elementary professions of (a) The Farmer (b) Craftsman and (c) The Tradesman. It should be noted that among the

basic requisites for nation building, education and business training play a very important role. In short the time has come for us now to change from a dependant population into a self-supporting and self-sufficient Nation. This as we have stated before will depend largely on the quick spreading of the useful kind of education. To effect this necessary change, time, effort, money and the cooperation of the leaders, people, press, and Govt. alike are required.

Let us, as citizens of the New Indian Republic, on this Historic and Happy occasion, rise to our full stature to work our own inimitable Constitution born today in a spirit of Unity and love pervading us all to evolve a 'Free' and 'Democratic' India of our dreams.

Republican India's Citizenship What it is that is expected of us

We are suffering today from three great maladies which afflict us today. Their removal will redound to the credit and glory of our country. They are ILLITERACY, POVERTY and DISCRIMINATION between citizen & citizen. They make it difficult for us to understand our duties to the state. At this juncture, with the inauguration of the Republican India, our beloved president has thrust on us our rights. He has thrown on us the mantle of shaping India by bestowing on us ADULT FRANCHISE. He expects us to rise to our full stature, to contribute our mite to country's prosperity to deserve the gift of ADULT FRANCHISE. It is now up to us to make India a great and prosperous country.

Our first and foremost care is how speedily we could eliminate the above three obstructions to our rising to our full stature to establish firmly our Republican Constitution to be proud of ourselves and our country.

Illiteracy. The literate citizens should take interest in the illiterate and help them to become literate. This spade work has to be done in the villages where more than 80% of our adults live. The more speed with which this task is achieved, the more quickly our standard of living will be raised and our country will become a great and powerful country. We fervently appeal to our national government to do the 'First things First' by giving speedy and enough encouragement to the literates in performing those duty of awakening their neighbours from their lethargy and apathy.

Poverty. This could be ended only when every citizen becomes alive to the important factor that each one

has to work for each one's living. Every adult citizen must take to active habits and become industrious as the only means to uplift and raise the standard of their living and thus contribute to the wealth of the country. The citizens should not believe the idlers who promise to those who do not work the benefits which accrue to those who work. The citizen who works is alone entitled to share in the wealth of the country. There is no use blaming those who through their initiative and hard work have raised their standard of living. It is up to any one of us to raise ourselves through the same right royal road of industry. Let us try and make a start to day and we will be successful not only to elevate ourselves but also will add intensely to the prosperity of our country.

Discrimination. It is not enough if we declare ourselves Republicans. We must cultivate solidarity and unity. The idea that one citizen is different from another citizen because of sex, wealth, rank or religion must be given a final good bye and in its place Love, Kindness and consideration should be ushered in not only in the eye of law but also in the actual behaviour, contact and relationship. It should be noted that all of us are the children of Bharat. In this connection let me quote our greatest ancient poetess, "Avaiyar" who said that there are only two kinds of citizens. Those who are big by their noble actions and those who have become small by their ignoble actions.

We are a nation of 33 crores consisting of different communities. It may be that a particular community is in the majority in population as against others in minority. This means only that this majority community will have a powerful voice in the moulding of The Indian nation. But the responsibility of this majority community is great as trustees of the welfare, well being and advancement of the other minority communities who are also children of Bharat. Communalism in all forms and grades should be studiously avoided as its ugly manifestation prevents a

united strong India. We are all pledged for a strong united India as a safeguard for our protection and prosperity.

Further subdivisions on question of Religion, language or rank are not only non-conducive to mutual love, understanding, and consideration between citizen and citizen but also are detracting factors for building up strong united India since we have yet to drive the wolf from within us.

Social justice is quite peremptory, if our country is to emerge a shining example of Democracy. Not only in the eye of law but also in actual behaviour, untouchability and sex bar to inheritance must cease to exist in every day life in society.

The best talented and the experienced should be given opportunities through the electorate to serve the country as people's representatives collectively shouldering the responsibility of directing, counselling's, and aiding the citizens to rise to their full stature to enhance the glorious achievements of our country as a bulwark for peace and champion of the weak, forlorn and unfortunates.

A CITIZEN

26—I-'50



ERRATA

- Page 3..Line 3.....Read *Efforts* for offerts
P „ 8... „ 3end..... Read but also to
„ 9... „ 2.....After provide Read *they* should
„ 11....., 15.....Read Encouraged (Spelling)
„29end.....Read Provincial (Illegible)
„ 15.....,para 2 line 7..Read Statistical (Spelling)
„ 18 line 6 end..Read *Become* Instead of because
• „ „ Para 2 line 14 middle....Read Resources
„ 23 line 10 middle Read *Encouraging*
„ 25 line 8 middle .Read industrial map of our country
„ 28 clause c line 4..Read *consumer*
„ 31 bottom, last line but one..Read 32 (S) instead of 328
„ 33 para line 2 end....add to the
„ 36 Clause C line 7....after clog Read in *the* wheel
„ 38 line 3 begining...Read *Ills* instead of falls
„ „ „ 18 „Read *Brethern*
„ 40 „ 6 middle.....Read *Labour*
„ 46 „ 4Read Production for productions
„ 55 „ 2 end....Read began *with* Charles instead of which
„ 66 para 1 line last but oneRead *Initiative*
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